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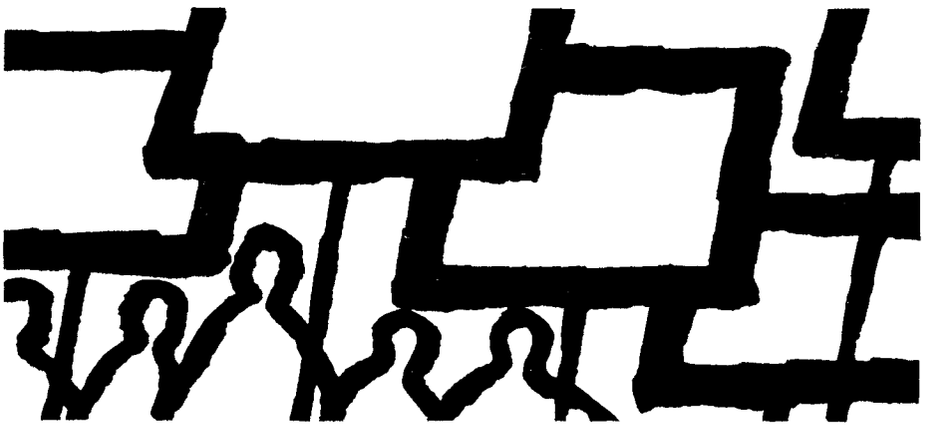

WHAT THE STUDENTS WANT

The meaning of the protests

Joseph L. Walsh

CUBANS IN MIAMI

C. K. Yearley

BURNING DRAFT CARDS

An Editorial

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NEWS & VIEWS

Some findings of the recent Gallup Poll Survey of Religion in England:

Fifty-nine percent of Catholics go to Mass most Sundays; 64 percent pray. On artificial birth control: 44 percent of Catholics approve, 46 disapprove, 10 don't know. Of the entire population, Catholic and non-Catholic, 64 percent believe Christ was the son of God and 50 percent believe in an after-life.

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Puzzling passage in the newsletter, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, which we gave up on after the third reading:

"When the Pope virtually advocated admission of Red China to the United Nations, little wonder that a devout young Catholic refuses to fight in Asia. We do not wish to suggest that Roman Catholics are not to be trusted. Most of them are loyal citizens. Their priests often preach the most invigorating sermons in wartime. But judge and jury at the trial of David J. Miller for burning his draft card must be made to see, in extenuation, that the religious doctrines to which this young man was exposed left him unfit to understand practical realities. The Church itself in the Middle Ages, by keeping the laity from reading the Gospels, acknowledged that they might have an unsettling effect on immature minds. We would be the first to protest if this led the government to take hasty action against church-going. But it is not without proper means for dealing with those who abuse freedom of religion. . . ." (October 25)

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Signs of the times: Circulation of the Brooklyn *Tablet* has dropped 12½ percent in the past year (down to 114,000), compared with losses of only five percent in each of the two previous years. . . .*The National Catholic Reporter* reached a circulation of 50,000 by its first anniversary October 24.

•

"It is an ancient principle of Catholic theology – though one which has constantly been betrayed in practice – that sacraments are for the sake of men and not *vice versa*. We should remember that this applies not only to individual sacraments within the Church – men are not to be sacrificed to the due performance of the liturgy – but also to the whole Church as sacrament of redeemed mankind. The Church is for the sake of the human race and not *vice versa*. The Father does not have a plan for the Church, He is not interested in Christians as such, He has a plan for mankind. The Church is the sacramental expression of this concern for mankind. When Christians focus their attention on Christianity instead of on man they are departing from the mind of Christ, turning from the reality to the sacramental image, falling into idolatry."

– Father Herbert McCabe, O.P., in his introduction to the English edition of Daniel Callahan's *Honesty in the Church*.

•

Religion & commerce: The Bishop of Macao has loaned a major relic of St. Francis Xavier to Cardinal Spellman, who, in turn "released the relic for veneration" on the fifth floor of Bamberger's Department Store, Newark, N.J. According to Bamberger's, the relic will be displayed in "a uniquely serene and reverent atmosphere." As it happens, the store is simultaneously conducting a sales promotion under the theme "Caravan Out of the East."

•

The Anti-Defamation League has found that discrimination against Jews in Florida resort hotels has almost disappeared. Twelve years ago, 55 percent of the hotels refused Jewish patrons; today, only 1.9 percent do. A wider ADL survey of resort areas in eight Southern and Western states shows that only 2.1 percent now refuse Jews, compared with 14.8 in 1963, before passage of the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

•

Analysis of returns in the New York mayoral election may show how devoted Catholics are to a) the Democratic party, and b) right-wing politics. During the campaign, pollster Samuel Lubell claimed that Conservative Party candidate William Buckley was running strong among Irish and Italian voters. One factor here is a mild "backlash" against the idea of bussing white children into Negro school districts.

John F. Kraft, who made ethnic voting analyses for Station WABC on election night, found Buckley doing well at the expense of Beame, the Democratic candidate, in Irish, Polish, German and Italian areas. In general, Catholics seemed to have deserted the Democratic party in numbers for both Buckley and Lindsay. Oliver Quayle, another ethnic voting analyst, found that Lindsay ran "surprisingly well" among Catholics. Apparently only about half of the Irish vote went Democratic; 5 or 10 percent went for Buckley, according to the Quayle analysis.

The Italian vote was widely split, with about 18 to 20 percent going for Buckley, Quayle said. If this figure is correct, it would mean that almost a quarter of Buckley's grand total of 339,000 votes came from Italian Catholics. As expected, Buckley did very poorly among the Puerto Ricans.

This current thesis is that Buckley, who set out to beat Lindsay, actually brought about a Lindsay victory by drawing off the Irish and Italian voters who normally vote for almost any kind of Democrat. Buckley wound up with 13 percent of the vote. An aide in his camp says: "If we had gotten only 5 percent of the vote, we would have hurt Lindsay a lot more. Everything over that came out of Beame's column." He added, perhaps a bit wishfully, "On the other hand, if we hadn't entered at all, Lindsay would have walked all over Beame."

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

Cuba

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: In the October 1 issue of your magazine Leslie Dewart asserts that the cooperation of Red Cuba with Latin American Communist parties and Liberation Fronts has never been great, and also that Red Cuba's economy is growing fast and that sugar production was 20 percent higher than before Castro. When before? Doesn't Dewart know that Batista kept sugar production down? Could Mr. Dewart show some proof of his assertions or are they just wishful thinking on his part?

There is a fairy tale going on which portrays Cuba as an underdeveloped country, such as Ghana. I hate to disappoint you, but the truth is that Cuba was not Ghana. Cuba's gross national product was $2 billion in 1958, the same as Mexico's, that much publicized socialist dictatorship. And Cuba had 7 million inhabitants, while Mexico had 35. Ignorance seems to be the rule regarding Cuba.

I believe Mr. Dewart does not understand the nature of Communism. It is not a frivolous matter, especially for the people who are under its yoke. We fought Batista principally because of the same reasons that we are fighting Castro. In 1959 I visited Che Guevara's headquarters for the invasion and subversion of Latin American countries. They were located at that time in Santiago de las Vegas. I imagine Mr. Dewart never was there, but he seems to know better about Red Cuba's subversion in Latin America.

Castro, his brother and Guevara staged a *coup d'état* against the people who put Castro in power. His regime is a totalitarian one. As Professor Gulielmo Ferrero said, totalitarian regimes can last for centuries, but they never can become legitimate. I don't know of the celebration of *free* elections in Cuba which have given Castro the right to speak in the name of the Cuban people.

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BURNING DRAFT CARDS

Seldom does there occur a liturgical ceremony more impressive than the draft-card burning which took place in Manhattan's Union Square November 6. Through the opening poems chanted by the only bearded speaker of the day, through the homilies delivered by A. J. Muste and Dorothy Day, through the ritual destruction of the cards, through the closing hymn—"We shall overcome"—there ran a quality so frequently missing in the sacred acts of the Church. Here was an act with consequences; not another manifesto, but a commitment backed by the willingness to risk five years of personal freedom.

Impressive, too, was the audience—dare we say congregation? The 1500 people present in support of the card burners were not merely restrained, they were reverent. The formal, serious nature of the event was clear; and applause, not cheering, was the crowd's sign of approval. Hecklers here and there who greeted each participant with shouts of "Red stooge" and "traitor" were simply requested to "please, keep silent" by young men and women wearing tags saying "Practice Nonviolence." The chairman invited the hecklers to choose a spokesman to present opposing views; and when the spokesman took the microphone to charge that this was "obviously a Communist-inspired meeting," only a few boos, some laughter, and much silence resulted. Even this gentleman's wild assertions were submerged in a mood not of militancy but of compassion for all entangled in the mess in Vietnam—American soldiers and their families as well as Vietnamese women and children.

Compassion did not trouble a contingent of counter-demonstrators. From across the street and behind police lines, they carried signs with messages like "Burn Yourself Instead of Your Card" and tried to drown out the speakers with chants of "Drop dead, Red." Was it from hardness of head, heart, or hearing—or simply from habit—that they even booed their own

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spokesman? Following the ceremony, and ignored by police and unobserved (or unreported) by most of the press, they marched through the neighboring streets. Up Madison to 18th and over to 5th—where they set upon two young men wearing "Practice Nonviolence" tags, and began beating them. Down 5th Avenue and then back to Union Square—repeating again and again their eerie chant: "Give us joy, bomb Hanoi! Give us joy, bomb Hanoi!" When finally a policeman appeared, they raised a new cry, "Support your local police!"

It was a day of contrasts and paradoxes. We have expressed our doubts about the necessity of illegal protests against the war in Vietnam; and presumably burning draft cards falls into that category, though hardly in the same way as draft-dodging or interfering with troop trains. Yet has an illegal act ever been so close to legality—scheduled and performed before an orderly and respectful audience in a public park, with municipal permission and protected by hundreds of policemen?

The presence of those hundreds of policemen was another contrast. They were a grim reminder that the day of nonviolence preached from the platform is not yet. True, American dedication to the rights of free speech and assembly, without which not even an army of police would be of help, made possible the Union Square gathering. Nevertheless, there remains the ironic (but important) lesson that at the periphery of that dedication, in the form of the young hecklers, it required controlled force, in the form of the police, to assure that the advocacy of nonviolence would be heard.

And the day's other lessons?

In the statements made by the five young men who burned their draft cards, two points were repeated again and again. First, the war in Vietnam is immoral. Second, no individual can surrender his moral judgment to any government, no matter how imposing or even dear to him that government may be.

On the first of these points, we cannot associate ourselves with the witness of these protesters. What does their brave act say about the moral aspect of the war in Vietnam? It is extremely difficult to tell. As pacifists they are opposed to all wars and all violence, and we cannot imagine a war they would not feel obligated to denounce, should the opportunity present itself, with the same symbolic force they employed in Union Square. Since they disapprove of all wars, what particular light does their disapproval of this one shed?

Our own pronouncements on Vietnam have been uneasy and hesitant. Of this we are not ashamed; the situation provides little alternative. If intervention and the employment of force were a moral question while non-intervention and withdrawal only a question of *realpolitik* and national convenience, the issue would be considerably simpler. But one can sin by omission as well as commission; the option of not employing force is also a moral question. Nor are any of the issues raised by the Vietnamese conflict—from the protection of those who have fled to the South to the containment of Red Chinese expansion—without their moral overtones. In every case, the horrible ambiguities must be faced and balanced, working all the while in the nearly paralyzing knowledge that at stake are lives, of men, of women, of small children, whose value is incalculable. In every case, the U.S. could possibly be culpable by not acting as well as by acting. Those who have, *a priori*, decided we can sin only by acting must be respected; but their decision does not help us much.

Where the witness of the five men does help is in their insistence upon moral judgment. Nothing, absolutely nothing, not the government, not circumstances, not "credibility" nor the necessity of "honoring our commitments" nor "national interest" can release the individual from making a conscientious judgment on the particular events occurring in Vietnam. Every responsible citizen, and in particular every draftable male, must make this judgment today. Nor can he even make it once and for all; should circumstances change, he must be ready to reverse his position tomorrow.

The fact that this moral judgment may be complex and qualified does not mean that it should not be made at all. The forms of support for the war in Vietnam, the methods of opposition, degradations of conscientious objection may not be as refined as we wish; and there is always the danger that the necessary momentum of public agitation will narrow them further. Nevertheless, alternative actions do exist, from writing Congressmen to marching in the streets, from protesting particular actions to protesting the war, from encouraging negotiations to demanding withdrawal, from requesting non-combatant military service to refusing cooperation with the conscription system. The entirely illegitimate alternative is to let it all pass by, to deny any responsibility, to surrender one's conscience.

Ultimately, one must judge a cause by its inherent

Coming December 3
CHRISTMAS BOOK ISSUE

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significance and not by the character of those who espose it. We are grieved by the actions which Norman Morrison and Roger LaPorte took to protest the Vietnamese war. There may have been demonstrations supporting U.S. policy as reverent and impressive as the one in Union Square protesting it. There certainly have been anti-war agitators as vicious as the pro-war ones on November 6. But we fear that the moral responsibility shown by the five men who burned their draft cards is being forgotten in the growing movement "to honor our boys" and to prove our loyalty. We also fear that the war-lust of the counter-demonstrators could become the mood of the nation. If that were to occur, all is lost not in Vietnam but in America.

"Why I Am Burning My Draft Card"

THOMAS C. CORNELL

Protests against the United States' involvement in the war in Vietnam have been carried on with increasing intensity in recent months, dramatically disproving President Johnson's claim for a consensus for his foreign policy. Still the war continues to escalate. Each day innocent peasants are being burned to death by napalm, their crops are destroyed and their hopes dashed. American men are giving their lives, American families are being shattered, to pursue a war that cannot be won, a war it was shameful for us to enter, a war we must use all our moral energy to halt, so that we might set about building the conditions of peace.

Americans have written to their Congressmen. They have marched upon our nation's capital. They have paraded down Fifth Avenue. As C.O.'s they have refused to serve in the armed forces. They have demanded that our nation address itself to the real problems that beset critical areas. Yet the war in Vietnam rages on and the seeds of war continue to proliferate and grow in Latin America and elsewhere.

To intimidate and stifle the expression of protest and dissent, the Congress passed a bill – without debate – making it a criminal offense to burn one's draft card, providing a five-year prison penalty and a $10,000 fine. On August 30, the President signed the bill into law.

In the words of Karl Meyer of the *Catholic Worker* in Chicago, printed in the *Catholic Worker*, October, 1965, explaining to his draft board why he destroyed his card, "If the penalty for damaging a paper card is so harsh, then the possession of the card becomes the universal act of fealty – incense on the altar of Caesar." The grave crime, we are told, is not the destruction of life but the destruction of a piece of paper.

We cannot let this draconian law stand. Not only is the penalty provided outrageously disproportionate, but the very concept of the law indicates that the U.S. Government, albeit accidentally and in a moment of frenzy, has taken upon itself the power to consecrate a piece of paper, invest it with a quality it cannot have, and then exact obeisance for that piece of paper. I can no longer carry that card.

For a number of reasons, I am not eligible for the draft. I am thirty-one years old, married and the father of a young son. S.S. examiners would not accept me. I could let the war in Vietnam pass me by. But I feel that I must associate myself with David Miller, Steven Smith and Karl Meyer in the open act of destroying my draft card, not in the spirit of defiance for public authority, but as a plea to my government and my fellow citizens to turn away from the present course in Vietnam, to turn away from intimidation and the stifling of dissent and protest at home; and to call upon like-minded people to stand with David Miller and the others who have expressed so forcefully their dedication to the cause of Peace on Earth.

Many people have asked me how I can expose myself to such severe legal penalties when I have a wife and child to support. I can answer only in this way: fellow Americans, sincere and conscientious soldiers, leave their wives and families and go to Vietnam, subjecting themselves to the risk of their lives. We who have dedicated ourselves to the war upon war, to the development of nonviolence as an effective means to resist tyranny, cannot shrink from accepting the consequences of our conscientious acts. My family and I have faith that God will provide for us as long as we attempt to do His will.

(Thomas C. Cornell was formerly managing editor of The Catholic Worker *and is currently publications director of the Catholic Peace Fellowship. This statement was made at the demonstration on Nov. 6 discussed in the accompanying editorial, beginning on page 203.)*

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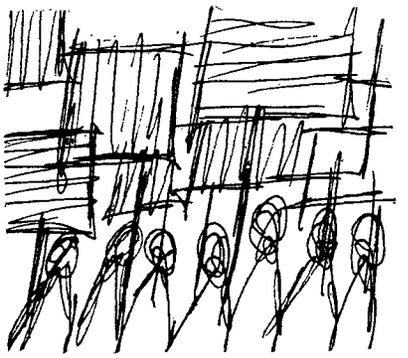

WHAT THE STUDENTS WANT

The meaning of the protests

JOSEPH L. WALSH

The purpose of the student riots last year at Berkeley was "to convince as great a number of people as possible that society and all of its institutions, and in particular, this University, are rotten."

This observation, by Nathan Glazer, the eminent sociologist, points to what is the most unsettling and striking characteristic of the new student militancy. The students do not see themselves as working within the framework of accepted American institutions to improve and perfect them. They do not see organized American society as something to be accepted, praised, loved and perfected. In their eyes, American society is on trial.

After the Berkeley riots, Jack Weinberg of the Free Speech Movement's steering committee said this: "The University of California is a microcosm in which all of the problems of society are reflected . . . The students in their idealism are confronted with a world that is a complete mess. They start as liberals, talking about society, criticizing it, going to lectures, donating money. But they find they cannot stop there."

Where do they stop and how far do they plan to go? Seymour Lipset, Sidney Hook, Paul Goodman, Nathan Glazer and many others have suggested—some with anticipation, others with fear—that a new force is seeking to enter American political and cultural life, a force that can have profound implications for the future of American society.

FATHER JOSEPH L. WALSH, C.S.P., *is director of the Newman Apostolate at Wayne State University, Michigan.*

The current student militancy began in 1960 with the anti-HUAC demonstrations in Berkeley and the civil-rights sit-ins in the South. Even though civil rights demonstrations and organization were the focal point of the movement, there was a steady pull towards a new vision of society. The Northern Student Movement organized students to tutor underprivileged Negroes and soon saw the real problem to be the northern urban ghetto as a creation of American middle-class values. SNCC brought students to Mississippi to nationally dramatize the Negroes' desperate plight and fortuitously taught them democracy on the grassroots level. Everywhere in "the movement" students found expression for what they hated about our society—its depersonalization; its bureaucratization; its gradualism. In group-organizing among Negroes in rural southern towns and northern ghettos, they found the personal warmth and belonging their northern suburban backgrounds lacked. In the successful tactics of "the movement" they found that students could dramatically protest social evils, bring "the system" to a halt and thereby conceivably change it.

When seen only in the civil rights perspectives, however, the radically different character of the student movement was easily missed. Tutoring, voter-registration campaigns, sit-ins, city hall marches—all could be easily interpreted as means of drawing the Negro and the dispossessed into the mainstream of American middle-class life. Viewed in this light, the student movement is only a rebirth of American liberalism, which lay dormant during the decade of the 1950's.

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But Berkeley's riots and the Vietnam protests offer another perspective. They reveal large numbers of students so dissatisfied with our society that they despise one of its great institutions; so aware of our society's limitations that they cannot conceive of killing people in order to make another country resemble it.

Admittedly, this is only one interpretation of the Berkeley and Vietnam protests and it is not meant to be exhaustive. Yet it would be seriously mistaken to see them as directed primarily to the positive and traditional goals of better education and peace. To get thousands of students out on strike as happened at Berkeley, to get 700 others arrested for sitting-in, to get 17,000 peace marchers to Washington, to drive many others into the South and the northern slums to live on subsistence wages—all this takes a deep passion. In my judgment that passion is a deep hunger for a new kind of society and an even stronger antipathy towards the one we've got.

Attitudes Toward Social Evil

What most separates the new activists from even their liberal sympathizers (not to say the bulk of society) is their contrasting attitudes towards the evils existing in society. The "over-30" generations are accustomed to viewing present evils as remainders of past injustices that have largely been eliminated or will eventually disappear. The new activists use no such standard. Writing in *Liberation,* Staughton Lynd, often described as the foremost intellectual of the new activism, says: "We have moved into a twilight zone between democratically delegated authority and something accurately called 'fascism!' " For Lynd the answer is participatory (as distinct, it seems, from representative) democracy, which means "ordinary people making decisions for themselves . . . a new politics which forces the representative back to his people, and politics back to life." To bring about this change he admits is revolutionary; it may mean students chaining "themselves to the Capitol this summer in wave after wave of massive civil disobedience; it could mean people organized from all over the country setting up their own 'Continental Congress,' defying their elected representatives, sending emissaries to make direct contact with the people of other countries." Lynd admits this kind of revolution makes sense "only if our situation is desperate." But he adds, "I think it is desperate . . . it was desperate in Mississippi when perhaps two dozen people were murdered over a period of five years . . . [it is desperate] in Vietnam where a hundred thousand lives have needlessly been thrown away since 1954."

Staughton Lynd may sound visionary if not mad to most American liberals. But it should be remembered that he led the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples onto the Capitol grounds in Washington, D.C., in civil disobedience this summer. Furthermore, he is only reiterating the philosophy expressed by the leaders of the Berkeley riots last autumn. In the very perceptive "Letter from Berkeley" by Calvin Trillin in *The New Yorker* (March 13, 1965), Steve Weissman, a member of the FSM steering committee, says "We're for . . . a kind of democratic participation, letting people have some control over their lives, the way SNCC is organizing people in the Freedom Democratic Party at the ward level, the way students are asking for participation in the university, or the way we're trying to get poor people involved in the war on poverty . . ." Weissman adds, "We don't automatically accept the value of institutions."

Sidney Hook described as "shocking" the "demagogic and odious comparison drawn by some students" between the very liberal University of California "despite its restrictions," and the situation in Mississippi. But for Mario Savio, the leader of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, the connection between Berkeley and Mississippi is obvious. As he said, "The two battlefields may seem quite different to some observers, but . . . the same rights are at stake in both places—the right to participate as citizens in democratic society." And the enemy in both places is the same, a "depersonalized, unresponsive, bureaucracy," unresponsive to the needs and feelings of those below. What is bad about Cal in Savio's eyes is not precisely the remaining restrictions on political activity; it is the bureaucracy that creates these rules, that will not listen and cannot be gotten at. For Hook the Berkeley movements used tactics that "could only be justified in extreme situations." For Savio the situation is extreme; the bureaucracy must be forced to listen, it is "the efficient enemy in a *Brave New World*" towards which we are all drifting.

Fundamental Questions

The difference between generations, however, is not just one of intellectual judgment about how extreme or desperate the contemporary situation is. The student activists are challenging their professors, their politicians, their priests, to reexamine fundamental questions about society and their role in it, questions the older generations would like to believe have long since been answered.

This challenge and reaction reveals itself in other comments by Glazer. Protesting what both he and his

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fellow Cal faculty member, Seymour Lipset, refer to as "the increasing politicization of the campus," Glazer says, "The university does not exist to settle political arguments or even to settle arguments over the limits of politics on the campus. This argument could have gone either way, to my mind, and the university would have survived *and not been the worse for it* (italics added)." There we have it. For Glazer the entire question which agitated the students was essentially trivial and irrelevant (aren't the questions which bother undergraduates always trivial?). No matter how decided, the university would remain essentially unchanged. For the students, however, the questions were matters of life and death.

Glazer implicitly reveals a view of the university, and more remotely of society, which many "over-30" (whom the Cal demonstrators only half-jokingly said are not to be trusted) would generally share. A university, in this view, is a place where men of learning and research pursue their life's work. They may or may not share this research with students, depending on their national prominence, their own taste and desires, and the educational needs in the area. Furthermore, politics and social change is something left primarily, though certainly not entirely, to those who are professionals in politics (as they themselves are professionals in sociology, physics, chemistry or whatever).

Berkeley students, however, would have none of this. In their view, the university is *much the worse* for not integrating the experience of social change into the curriculum, for not dealing with the students as individuals trying to understand themselves and the world in their own terms. In effect they were demanding the aid and assistance of their professors (the university) in interpreting and changing Mississippi, Vietnam, northern slum ghettos, bureaucracy, the Brave New World, 1984 and all the rest. In their own confused, rude, incoherent and sometimes vulgar way, the Berkeley students were demanding that their professors sit down with them (on the end of a log?) and deal with these questions. They were stating their own view of what a university should be, of what at least some of the men who claim to be their "teachers" should be doing. Their teachers (which includes all of us in society who claim to know more and better than they) may refuse. But it is time for us to know for what it is that we are being asked.

It is not easy for most older activists to help and work with the new. For one thing, our emotional instincts are different. In late February of 1965 I went with a group of about 300 Detroit-area professional men, clergy, labor-leaders, university professors and students to meet the Michigan congressional delegation to demand immediate federal action in Selma, Alabama. Crowded into the only available room in the Senate Office Building, the meeting seemed to veer frequently towards disorder. A polite and restrained request for action by one of the older members of the group would be followed by a student abrasively demanding action—accompanied by the cheers and "You-tell-it-to-him-Frank" shouts from his fellow activists. The sense of proper respect for authorities, the deference to proper channels, an inclination to give the official the benefit of the doubt, all these made the older members of the group uneasy at the impertinence of the students and content to accept the assurance of the Senators and Congressmen that they had been doing all they could. Not so the students. They shouted and yelled and demanded action. They were determined to be heard.

More Angry

Later, we older members of the group tried to determine what was the difference between the students and us. The answer was clear. They were more angry than we were. The injustice in Selma was not just another in a long list of human injustices about which "something" should be done. Nathan Glazer said about the militancy of the Berkeley rioters: "After all, no one was up for hanging." In the militant students' eyes, people are being hanged in one way or another everywhere because the bureaucracy cannot be moved to action.

Another point of conflict is on the question of totalitarian Communism. The older generations have had to take a stand on that question. In one way or another most of them have had to choose whether the American system of representative democracy and constitutionalism was superior to the design of the Communist party for human betterment. Many of them remember struggles on campus, in unions and elsewhere with Communist attempts at take-over and direction. Hearing the loud and strident charges of today's militants about the weaknesses of American society, they instinctively want to confront the new activists with their own now-answered problem: which side of the great divide are you on—East or West?

For the militant students the question is irrelevant. They do not see the issue in these terms. For them the choice lies between communitarian, participatory democracy and bureaucracy. They feel no real attraction towards any other existing social system. It would be naïve to suppose, however, that any group which so vehemently dislikes so much of contemporary American society and so distrusts its leaders would not have

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some emotional sympathy for its avowed enemies. One hears expressions of sympathy for the Viet Cong or even the Red Chinese, for instance, which would shock many politically sensitive Americans who had decided that, however unwittingly, these groups were not working for the best interests of mankind. But I believe this kind of talk is essentially frivolous and a diversion. For today's militant student, the real enemy right now is here at home, in bureaucracy, depersonalization, in an unresponsive government and power-structure. And Vietnam protests are one way of attacking. The students' best instincts tell them that it isn't really better elsewhere. Essentially they believe that the best way for dealing with the lack of democracy anywhere else is by finally creating some of it here at home.

But if the new activists are not interested in following the Communists, might not the totalitarian Communists be interested in them, in using them as instruments in their own plans? This danger, of course, is present. The militants seem generally unmindful of the possible harmful consequences that so often flow from revolution and civil disorder. Nevertheless, it must be said—I believe even J. Edgar Hoover agrees—that the direction and leadership of the student movement today is in the hands of people distrustful of all bureaucratic panaceas, capitalist or Communist.

The Future

What can we forecast about the future of the new militants? How lasting is their revolutionary fervor and how widespread is it? Numerically, those who would consciously embrace the ideas expressed above are very small. The vast majority of students show little interest in these kinds of questions. But there is great significance in the remark made by Steve Weissman (again in *The New Yorker*) in response to this same kind of question. "There aren't many people, but it is a new voice. I think it represents the thinking of a lot more people, and thirty per cent of the student body bought our style."

As one gets to know the thoughtful university student today, you can see why. His own style is very much apart from the traditional hoop-la of college rah-rah, which still goes on but in proportionately fewer numbers. As you listen to them articulate their vision, sing their songs, join in their criticism of war and hatred, you can see the appeal of the Berkeley style.

Americans have always been inclined to view anything that happens in a student's university life as transitional and temporary. The university is a place for letting go, for wild ideas which he then forgets as he enters adult, career-centered, middle-class existence. But our current affluence and social orientation is changing this picture. The increased availability of government money for scholarships and jobs connected with social welfare subsidizes the existence of a substantial group of intelligent and sensitive people outside the get-ahead rat-race. Studies at many universities have already revealed that many of the brightest students turn in this direction away from the more traditional business and corporation direction. It remains to be seen whether the new activists will widen their influence among this new group of subsidized outsiders, but it is certainly possible. The very existence of the Peace Corps and Vista as accepted American institutions says something about their staying power.

What They Are Saying

To measure the new activists' importance in terms of numbers, however, is to miss what the movement has most to tell the adult world. To quantify their significance, all the while wondering whether they will remain a fringe kind of sect or a wider movement, is not to listen to what they are saying. And that is important. The new activists are almost totally a post World-War II generation. They are the first human results of a life of affluence and suburbia. They are the children of organization men, or at least their neighbors. Their lives are the products of the most organized, technologized and bureaucratized society the world has ever known. Quite possibly they are sensitive to the blight of that system in a way that adults who remember only pre-planning days cannot be.

If this is true, it makes no sense to tell the new activists to get out of the streets and into the Democratic party organization. It makes no sense to tell them, as even so sensitive an observer as Michael Harrington has done, that no true reform is accomplished in big steps, that moving society even an inch is a big step and requires coalition politics and big organizations. The students are trying to add a new dimension to American political life, one that would introduce human choice and community into the welfare state. Perhaps what they seek is utopian and visionary, even dangerous to attempt. But I think they already know they must work with the system. They know that they are a "prophetic shock minority" (to use Maritain's phrase). What they want is to come to the bureaucracy with clean hands, to come as a new kind of man, to first get the machine to move towards them to prove that it can be done, that it can be moved, that even this is not God—before it begins to swallow them.

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An uncertain status

CUBANS IN MIAMI

C. K. YEARLEY

Cubans availing themselves of Fidel Castro's recently announced "open door" policy were, in mid-October, crossing the Straits of Florida at rates up to 150 persons a day. Now an agreement between the U.S. and Cuba promises that two flights a day from Cuba will bring from 3,000 to 4,000 refugees here each month. The agreement itself is an expression of the United States' desire to control the problems created by an exodus which, beginning in 1958, presently presses toward the 300,000 mark.

In many a sense, of course, these people merely augment an old and, in frequent instances, a sad human story. The refugee or the émigré, man, woman or child, sometimes without family, friends or significant belongings, displaced by political upheavals or warfare, is an historical commonplace, and during this century almost a starkly symbolic figure. Against this great and venerable human tide, the Cuban stream across a narrow span of water to the United States appears to be only a modest tributary.

But there is a somewhat narrower context into which Cuban refugees fit. Within the state of Florida they constitute a major movement and a set of major problems. For nearly four-fifths of all the Cubans who have abandoned their homeland have at least temporarily settled in Florida, and the vast majority of these in Dade County, the greater Miami area. To native Floridians, not yet accustomed to the hundreds of thousands of Cubans already in their midst, the new influx has provoked serious concern. Miami and the state generally had ample problems before the refugees arrived. Almost in a decade the state has gone through the wracking shift from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban population; the state government and the agencies through which it works, especially in fiscal matters, is obsolete; the legislature is substantially unreapportioned; education is in crisis; the economy is unbalanced; and integration is proceeding too slowly for some, too fast for others.

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The status of Cuban refugees is an unusual one anyway. Asylum has been granted them most generously to be sure, but as a judicial subcommittee of the U.S. Senate pointed out, there has been a notable lack of "an unambiguous, visible, over-all policy." The immigration technicality under which they have been admitted to Florida, for instance, treating them not as immigrants are generally treated but instead under "indefinite voluntary departure" or "parole" status negates development of any vigorous spirit of resettlement within the United States or of a desire for swift integration into American life. There has been no legislation either, adjusting the refugee's legal status to that of legal residents.

Who Came Over

Nor is it easy to generalize about the kind of people the Cuban refugees are. Our official impression during the early days of the Castro regime was that we were benefiting from an influx of large numbers of upper or upper middle class Cubans, many of them professional people, most of them relatively well educated. A few years ago it was noted that half the former faculty of the University of Havana was living in the Miami area. There were likewise numbers of ex-government officials, undersecretaries, civil servants, and the like who were arriving, though few of them managed to take any such comparable jobs in Miami. A Stanford University study conducted in the Spring of 1964, using registrations in the Cuban Refugee Emergency Center in Miami for the preceding year, tended to bear out these impressions. Fewer than 3% of the refugees came from among Cuban farmers or fishermen. A very large minority were rated as extremely vigorous politically. Precisely what one might have expected the configuration of émigrés to have been in the face of a socialist revolution.

Of course, there was undoubtedly a natural and uncheckable tendency for many refugees to suggest to the Center that their status in Cuba was higher than in fact it was. And, lately, the tendency seems to have been for more of the relatively unskilled and

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uneducated to come to the mainland. Whether, in truth, this is actually the case, many native Miamians believe the exiles are not only culturally different, as assuredly they are, but that they are distinctly inferior socially.

There also exists a widespread impression in Miami that the sojourn in Florida for many of the refugees is entirely too distressing to the natives and entirely too comfortable for the exiles. When the waves of émigrés began hitting Miami six years ago, an already depressed labor market was jammed with additional men and women whose abilities simply were not marketable in that region. Job competition with local labor became and remains a serious issue. Furthermore, the swift movement of the federal government working through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which in turn dovetailed its efforts with agencies of the state, produced the anomalous situation of foreign refugees receiving higher welfare benefits from American governments than native Americans who found themselves jobless or in tight straits. Resettlement of refugees in other cities to relieve local pressure has proved difficult, even when both "push" and "pull" tactics have been employed; most refugees anticipate returning to Cuba after the defeat or disappearance of the Castro regime. Finally, a rise in delinquency and crime is locally, if incorrectly, attributed to the Cuban "invasion"; property values have allegedly been driven down by the presence of what some natives consider noisy and offensive Latins; and members of the Negro community show resentment against Gubans to whom, color aside, discrimination has not applied while it still exists very strongly in regard to themselves.

Certainly none of these problems could have been unexpected. And much has been done by the state and federal government, as well as by churches and civic groups of all complexions. These groups have attempted to strengthen private relief agencies; provide daily necessities for the refugees; locate employment for them; provide sufficient funds and incentives for resettlement in other parts of the United States; supply schooling, retraining, vocational, and health services to them; and give special care to the most troubled elements in the refugee populations—the 14,000 unaccompanied children. State and federal relief programs have also been sustained and frequently quite flexible in respect to all of these problems; Mayor Robert King High of Miami and a number of city leaders have also manifested the desire to treat the influx of Cubans with a united community effort aimed especially at seeking resettlement for them. Meanwhile the monies poured into refugee relief, nearly $200,000,000 in one form or another to date, has helped enormously to pull many local businesses out of a slough of despond, while the potentialities of a permanent Cuban population has become increasingly attractive to men such as Mayor High whose popularity among the Cubans is purportedly very high.

Success of refugee programs ultimately depends not only upon coordinated governmental and communal efforts but even more importantly upon the refugees themselves. Curiously enough, the strongest impetus to successful programs thus becomes Castro himself; the longer he lasts the more readily will communities like Miami prepare to live with and absorb these new and colorful elements, as other immigrants have been assimilated before them, and the more responsively will the Cubans themselves face the nature and extent of their integration into American life.

A Protestant Viewpoint

CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

What is the relationship of a church to its creedal and confessional statements? To what degree is a church bound to confessional statements of the past? How far can the church go in contemporary restatements of "the faith once delivered to the saints"? Do new times and situations in the life of the church call for new inflections and nuances in proclaiming the Christian message of salvation?

Such questions as these could be said, from one perspective, to be the central problems of Vatican II, with its concern for bringing the church "up to date." But

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these problems are not exclusively Roman Catholic problems. They are problems that challenge other churches as well. They might, indeed, be said to be problems that arise whenever the concept of "reformation" is taken seriously by Christians. At the moment, they are problems that are occupying the attention of American Presbyterians in a central way, since changes in the traditional stance toward confessionalism have recently been offered to the United Presbyterian Church —the largest single Presbyterian body in this country— and will be under debate within that communion during the next two years.

It is my conviction that the issues now being explored by Presbyterians are not simply intramural family concerns, but ones that have widespread ecumenical implications, not only for other Protestant groups, but for the Catholic-Protestant dialogue as well. I would like to contend, indeed, that the debate now underway within Presbyterianism is not the alarming "change" and "departure from true faith" that some of its more rabid critics have suggested, but that it is a chapter necessary to the ongoing life and health of any church, a chapter that must frequently be repeated, even though the words of the chapter may vary in successive redactions.

A bit of historical perspective will help to focus the issues. Like all of the branches of the church that emerged at the time of the Reformation, members of the Presbyterian and Reformed families (broadly, the "Calvinist" wing of the Reformation) wrote "confessions," statements of faith that tried to clarify where the churches stood in relation to historic Christianity and to other Christian bodies of the time. Many such "confessions" have come down to us. Their content was not new. The Reformers would have been shocked at the suggestion that they were inventing novel doctrines; their confessions were meant to be no more than fresh statements of New Testament Christianity.

The stress in the confessions was on continuity with the past. One of them, the Second Helvetic Confession of Bullinger, defined heresy as departure from the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds. All of them took the Biblical witness as their norm, and then developed that witness systematically in the light of the later history of the church. They were, on the whole, positive and affirmative in tone, though candor compels the admission that the polemics of the Reformation period, and the need to distinguish Reformed from Roman teaching, meant that heat as well as light was sometimes generated within them. Different denominations wrote and clustered around different statements; for Lutherans, the Augsburg Confession became central; for Presbyterians, the Westminster Confession of Faith; for certain other Reformed groups, the Heidelberg Catechism, and so on.

In America, members of the Presbyterian family gravitated clearly to the confessional standards of the Westminster Assembly, with the Westminster Confession (1643) and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms achieving constitutional status as the confessional norms of the church. Ordinands, both to the office of minister and elder, have always had to give their allegiance to the doctrines contained therein. Infrequently, but on occasion, the constitutional standards were modified. Early in the twentieth century, for example, the phrase referring to the Pope as anti-Christ was deleted. Certain provisions of the treatment of church and state, reflecting seventeenth-century Britain, were dropped much earlier. In 1903, a "Declaratory Statement" was added, modifying the harsh implications drawn from the original document's rigorous treatment of predestination as related to the fate of infants dying unbaptized. But with the exception of these and a few other small changes, the documents have remained relatively unscathed by time.

In recent decades it has been apparent that being wedded to *one* confessional standard—to one and only one way of stating the nature of Christian faith—has the liability of narrowness of understanding, as well as the merit of a certain clarity of definition. Furthermore, to be wedded to a seventeenth-century document, in the middle of the twentieth century, is at least to suggest that the only proper way of stating the faith is a seventeenth-century way. (It is as though a contemporary Catholic were to insist that the Catholic faith could be correctly stated *only* by using the thirteenth century terminology and methodology of St. Thomas.) How, then, can the Presbyterian Church give a proper accounting of itself and the faith it holds to the contemporary world?

A Group of Confessions

The proposal that will be debated for the next two years in Presbyterianism proceeds by multiplication, so to speak, rather than by revision or deletion. It has been recognized that the Christian faith cannot be "contained" within a single statement, and that to hang one's appropriation of the gospel on a single attempt to spell out that gospel leads inevitably into a situation where statements about the faith become confused with the faith itself. However, a number of statements, coming from different periods in the church's life, could be drawn together, and the faith of the church declared to be the common gospel toward which all

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of them point, even though no one of them (nor, indeed, any group of them) can contain that faith in its fullness.

It is made clear in the proposal that the aim of creeds and confessions is to witness to the Biblical faith that has always been the norm of Reformed Christianity, and throughout the discussion the creeds and confessions are understood to be subordinate to the authority of Scripture. While they elucidate the meaning of Scripture, they do not exhaust that meaning, and since (in the words of John Robertson to the Pilgrim fathers) "God hath yet more truth to break forth from His Holy Word," attempts to elucidate the meaning of Scripture are never complete and must be attempted afresh every generation.

The group of statements selected for Presbyterian consideration is an interesting and significant one, in view of its "catholic" tendencies. First is the Nicene Creed, described as "the first unchallengeably catholic or universal creed derived from a council of the church." This is followed by the so-called "Apostles'" Creed, chronologically subsequent to the Nicene Creed, and now current only in the western churches.

Four confessional statements from the Reformation period are included. The first of these is the Scots Confession of 1560, a vigorous document that (to my mind at least) is particularly notable for indicating the limitation of all confessional statements, and the norm by which they must always be judged: the writers assure their hearers that "if any man will note in this our confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, that it would please him of his gentleness and for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing; and we upon our honor and fidelity, by God's grace do promise unto him satisfaction from his Holy Scriptures, or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss."

The Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 is likewise included. This is a warm and personal document, often used for catechetical instruction and providing a sequence for preaching for the full Christian year. It moves from the theme Of Man's Misery, to the good news Of Man's Redemption, and finally to the Christian response as one of Thankfulness or Gratitude, thus providing a profound context for the ethical life that must flow out of creedal affirmation.

Bullinger's Second Helvetic Confession (1566), previously referred to, is the third Reformation confession. Its treatment of predestination, set in a Christological context, is far more Biblical and creative than the wooden treatment accorded that doctrine in the Westminster Confession, and it, too, has many paragraphs dealing with the practical living of the Christian life, a theme in which the Westminster Confession is notably lacking.

Finally, the Westminster Confession and the Shorter Catechism are retained as confessional standards, while it is suggested that the bulky and little-used Larger Catechism be remanded to the archives of Presbyterian history.

In addition to the creeds of the early church and the confessions of the Reformation period, two "modern" statements of faith are included. The first of these is one of the most remarkable documents of modern times, the "Barmen Declaration" of 1934. This confession was drawn up in an emergency situation as the declaration of the newly-formed "Confessing Church" of Germany, in the face of the Nazi menace. It is Biblical and theological in tone and style, but through it all breathes a spirit of creative and militant defiance to the "events and powers" that were demanding an idolatrous allegiance from the churches. There is scarcely any contemporary church document that speaks more compellingly about the need to remem
Jesus Christ is the only Lord to whom unq
allegiance may be given, and many of those who
and subscribed to the original declaration paid
their unswerving allegiance with their lives. The h
document is a new confessional statement, referred to as the "Confession of 1967," indicating the date when it is expected that the document, if approved, will become an official standard of the church. (Copies of the texts of these confessions, together with interpretive articles, are available in a pamphlet with the cumbersome title "The Proposal to Revise the Confessional Position of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," published by the Office of the General Assembly, 510 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107, at a cost of 40 cents.)

"The Confession of 1967"

So much of the discussion in the public press has concentrated on this new confession, with the false implication that it "replaces" the Westminster Confession, that it is doubly important to lay such a misunderstanding to rest. The process, as already suggested, is one of multiplication rather than division. The major change is the shift from a single confession standard to a group of such standards, of which the "Confession of 1967" is only one. Since, however, all the other confessions have stood the test of time—and even in thirty years the Barmen Declaration has achieved a rightful place among enduring church utterances—I will com-

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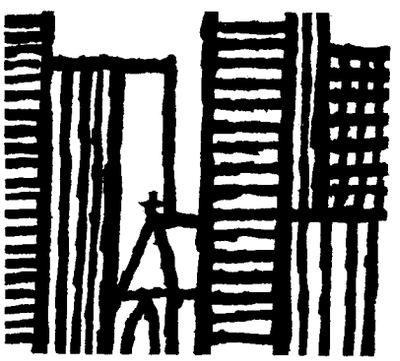
ment briefly on the nature of the new "Confession of 1967," reserving for another occasion a fuller analysis of its content.

The document does not purport to be an exhaustive statement of the whole Reformed faith. Coming after six other confessions, it essays the more modest, but more difficult, task of highlighting certain facets of the gospel that need particular attention and stress in our own time. It acknowledges that in later times other and newer statements, stressing different emphases of the inexhaustible faith, may need to be written. What Biblical theme, then, stands in particular need of re-articulation for the 1960's and '70s? The writers of the new Confession, under the able chairmanship of Professor Edward Dowey of Princeton Theological Seminary, have decided that the Biblical theme most clearly in need of declaration to our age is the theme of reconciliation. The pattern of the document is therefore twofold, the first part stressing "God's Work of Reconciliation," a statement of the gospel, and the second part stressing "The Ministry of Reconciliation," which, while obviously no more than an unfolding of the first part, deals with the mission of the church in our day and the church's equipment for that mission. The sequence is not original; it is Biblical, and is no more than an echo of Paul's statement.

"If anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has passed away, behold the new has come. All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself and gave us the ministry of reconciliation; that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them, and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation. So we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us." (2 Cor. 5:18-29)

The value of this emphasis, for our age, is that in the light of it the church is not permitted to turn in upon itself, but must, because of the nature of the faith it proclaims and embodies, turn out to the world. This turning out, or "mission," is no addendum or afterthought, but is integral to the meaning of the church and its message. Indeed, traffic runs both ways on this street; if reconciliation between God and man is not complete without reconciliation between man and man, conversely reconciliation between man and man must have its rootage in the reconciliation God has achieved for all men.

Professor Dowey's committee worked for several years on the proposal, and last May presented its suggestions to the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church, the denomination's highest judicatory. Spirited discussion followed on the floor of the Assembly, and intensive study of the proposal in the churches and presbyteries will proceed for the next two years. Suggestions for revision can be submitted, and the final document will surely incorporate changes to be suggested after scrutiny of all comments by a specially appointed committee. Although a vigorously vocal minority decried the entire venture at the Assembly, the first vote on the matter (to send the documents to the churches for study) was carried by a margin of 6 to 1.



The chief fear of opponents is that the traditional doctrine of Biblical inspiration will be undermined by the proposed changes. There is undeniably a shift from the Westminster standards, but it is a shift that all but the most reactionary must welcome as a creative one. The treatment of the "Word of God" is focussed in the new confession on Jesus Christ as the Incarnate Word, and on Scripture as the instrument by means of which that Incarnate Word is conveyed to the church and to the world. In the past, Protestants have often equated the "Word of God" with words of the Bible, in such a way that the latter became ends in themselves rather than pointers to the living Word who is Jesus Christ. It has historically always been the Protestant temptation to let Scripture intrude between the believer and God, rather than to let Scripture become the channel through which the believer and God are brought into living contact. Protestant concern about papal infallibility has often paid scant attention to the attendant dangers of paper infallibility.

There will continue to be spirited intramural discussion of the "Confession of 1967" and the new stance involved in broadening the confessional base of Presbyterianism. But it is my deep hope that the discussion will not be limited to Presbyterians alone. It is important that the full ecumenical spectrum be involved, and that Presbyterians receive from Roman Catholics the same kind of open assessment of their proposals that Presbyterians have been offering for five years to the participants of Vatican II.

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THE STAGE

Two new historical plays: one getting by with a fairly good story, the other squandering a better one.

"Royal Hunt of the Sun" is a sad case of waste. It chronicles the doings of Juan Pizarro, the old pro conquistador, who loots and kills because it is the only trade he knows. By the time the play opens, rapine has lost some of its tang for old Juan, because at some point he has become aware of mortality: and to "know" death in this sense is to have died already, and to be in no shape for rapine.

Like his mess-mate, De Soto, Pizarro seems to have been looking for some fountain of youth in the new world; and like many Americans since, to have stumbled on the way into religious illusionism. At least, that's how it goes in the play. Pizarro finds that the God-King of the Incas really believes in his own resurrection, and this first encounter with a living Gospel quite turns his head. He goes whoring after immortality, but finds, instead, nothing but gold, insolent quantities of gold, enough to festoon his tomb with, and all the tombs in Castile.

The theme is big, possibly too big, and the play keeps getting lost in its folds. Pizarro himself represents everything that is rotten and destructive in the old world; his loss of faith and hope speaks for all Christian Europe. There are also several moth-eaten clerics in his entourage, of the kind that Martin Luther was becoming disenchanted with at about the same time; and one sees why Pizarro was ready to clutch at religious and philosophical straws.

But one character cannot bear such a weight of meaning. Pizarro's conquest of the Incas, like the whole conquistador blood-bath, required a daring and an extroverted vitality that simply doesn't sit with this wistful, troubled philosopher. Christopher Plummer's interpretation is resourceful, but he can only emphasize one side of the character at the expense of the other: and I flatly could not imagine this played-out introvert cutting his way through a jungle, or sustaining one of the most outrageous bluffs in history, or calmly conducting the slaughter of 3,000 unarmed Indians in one hour.

Perhaps to accommodate this difficulty, John Dexter has produced the whole play in a spirit of fantasia. The jungle Pizarro cuts through is made of pure air, and he is out the other side in two minutes flat. (No one even has to pause to swat a mosquito.) The slaughter of the 3,000 is a kind of underwater ballet in which no one could conceivably get hurt, or stay dead. The Inca court is such an airy-fairy establishment that Alice could probably blow it over like a pack of cards, or shake the king until he turned into a kitten. And Plummer's Pizarro is fully equipped to carry out operations such as these.

The production suffers from familiar spectacle problems. It is difficult to take things like the Inca dances seriously because there has been a plethora of these quasi-authentic farragoes inserted recently into routine musicals. The stage-setting aims at awe and mystery, with the God-King supervising his empire from an illuminated raised box, but this never seems more than a cute trick. Better effects of height and depth might have been achieved through different stage design: but the God-King (David Carradine) turns out to be such a me-Tarzan character that perhaps there was no point in bothering.

Essentially this seems to be another of those cases, like "Danton's Death," where less production would have meant a better play. With less frou-frou, Pizarro might have proved at least as plausible as, say, Shaw's Caesar. Peter Shaffer has written some literate lines for him and his philosophizing is good, sensible stuff, unpretentious and solid. The story is narrated by an old man who had once idealized Pizarro and is later disillusioned by him, and this change of heart is hammered rather clumsily into the plot. But it helps to make the play's point, which seems to be that, long before Jay Gatsby came along, people had been investing America with impossible dreams, only to settle for the cash—for the gold that still drips so drearily in the big Spanish churches, like butterscotch sauce poured by a greedy child. Many better plays have been about less. (*At the ANTA Theatre*)

"The Right Honourable Gentleman," for one, is about less, and demonstrates in fact how little it takes to give pleasure in the theater. The play tells a fairly interesting story fairly well. The language is undistinguished, but always highly functional: every line moves matters along—and this is sometimes better than being amusing.

It works as a historical play because it uses what was important about the period—the Victorian fixation with appearances and with personal honor. The Charles Dilke divorce case, on which the play is based, probably had considerably less entertainment-value than our own Profumo caper; but it had more tragic substance. It lacked in particular the special sleazy, meaningless quality of the Playboy era (when *Profumo* is dramatized,

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it will have to be as comedy). To "be ruined" in the 1880's was no mere inconvenience, but a deadly assault on what Lawrence of Arabia called the citadel of his integrity. (Interestingly, Mr. Profumo seems to have taken a similar view of his own case: but this might be unconvincing on the contemporary stage.)

This brutal moral seriousness was a rich quarry for fiction writers, and Michael Dyne has had the wit to make full use of it here. The tension which usually has to be manufactured in the course of a play is built into the very furnishings, the carpets and the deep armchairs. It is also built into Charles D. Gray, a perfect Victorian actor. We can weigh what "ruin" (Charles, we must flee!) would mean to this urbane, ferociously self-contained man, and thus can care about his fate even when it founders in melodramatic shallows.

Of the rest of the cast, half of it is good and half of it is terrible. Without particularizing too much, let it be said that Coral Browne, Frances Sternhagen and Sarah Badel are among the good guys. (*At the Billy Rose*)

WILFRID SHEED

HOUSE OF NO MIRTH

THE SCREEN

The plethora of new films not only keeps a reviewer on the run but also shortens the length of reviews that have to be squeezed into an assigned space. Some of the recent products on our screens don't deserve more than a couple of lines, but then again, some, because of special interests, are worthy of lengthy discussion. "The Eleanor Roosevelt Story," my favorite among the new items, is indeed worthy.

This documentary film, handsomely produced by Sidney Glazier and exceedingly well directed by Richard Kaplan, shows well the careful research and hard work spent on it by the entire staff. Archibald MacLeish, who wrote the interesting narration, also reads it with Eric Severeid and Mrs. Francis Cole, Eleanor's cousin—whose cultured, sometimes-odd voice greatly resembles Mrs. Roosevelt's. Like the excellent English documentary, "The Finest Hours," about Winston Churchill, "The Eleanor Roosevelt Story" skillfully portrays the period and times as well as its central character. While the last part of the film, with all its newsreel clips of the politician's wife, the governor's wife, the President's wife, and the widow who made a name for herself as first lady and great lady, is fascinating for its hasty review of history through the roaring

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twenties, the depression, World War II, its aftermath and the U.N., I found the first half of the story the more interesting. It might almost have been written by Edith Wharton with its touching tale of the shy, unattractive girl who was told she was the ugly duckling in a handsome family whose main concern was for Society and the glittering social whirl around it.

What Edith Wharton probably would not have done, however, is speak up with such frankness about Eleanor's story: her neglected education, her drinking father, the snobbish grandmother with whom she lived, the courtship by her fifth cousin, Franklin, whose own mother proved such a great problem after the marriage when Eleanor became just a society matron bearing child after child. Still photographs cover the early period. The newsreels and movie shots start during World War I, and during this period the ugly duckling began to grow into the Eleanor Roosevelt we know, the woman interested in people everywhere, the woman who refused to let her husband become a retired cripple, the woman of compassion and courage who fought adversity. At times she was more well-meaning than right, but that is all part of her growth to greatness. And this film tells the story of that growth superbly.

To go from the sublime to the ridiculous, audiences who are card sharps may very well like "The Cincinnati Kid," a tense, minor movie about a young fellow (Steve McQueen) who thinks he can beat The Man (Edward G. Robinson) at stud poker, the game that made the man The Man. Well directed by Norman Jewison, "Cincinnati Kid" has an interesting script by Ring Lardner, Jr., and Terry Southern and some good acting by the leads as well as Karl Malden, Joan Blondell, and even Tuesday Weld and Ann-Margret. But the picture, for all its good film making, concentrates so heavily on poker that it may lose some of its audiences for whom card playing is only an unimportant pastime. The sex scenes, thrown in gratuitously, are obvious diversions from the main business at hand. At times "The Cincinnati Kid," with its tough, cocky anti-hero, is reminiscent of "The Hustler," but the latter went farther in its plot and had more to say about its characters. "The Kid," however, won't disappoint card sharps, and might even win others for its big game in the thrilling climax.

Admirers of soap operas should certainly see "The Railroad Man," a 1956 Italian movie made by Pietro Germi who later rose to fame with "Divorce—Italian Style" and "Seduced and Abandoned." Although "Railroad Man" tells a sentimental, woe-packed story of a fiftyish, hard-drinking man, his patient, long-suffering wife, their lazy son, their daughter who marries because she is pregnant, and their little, school-boy son who adores his father, it tells its tale so well that it is almost a model of perfection in the sudsy genre. The acting is excellent throughout, with Germi himself playing the role of the erring though loving father, and the script, in which Germi also had a hand, has a quality of reality and warmth in spite of its bursts of sweetness and light and sorrow and misery. I haven't any idea why this film was held up until now for showing in this country, but I, for one, am grateful it arrived.

And then for Bette Davis fans, there's "The Nanny," perhaps not the best Davis but with enough of her hamming it up to hold her followers as well as mystery enthusiasts. Seth Holt's direction is all in a low key which somehow manages to add to the excitement of an implausible though never dull story. Miss Davis, looking very severe, plays a ghoulish Mary Poppins in a household to which the ten-year-old son is coming home from a mental institution. Blamed for drowning his little sister, the boy insists on his innocence; but no one believes him. No one will believe the following events either, but no one will fall asleep as the nanny and this wacky family go through their paces.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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PAUL VELDE

THE MASTER BUILDER

The forms are up, the cracks calked,
Pour me some concrete, Master Builder.
The dawn can wait, I cannot.
Over here, Master Builder!
What they do these days —
Not a stone, but all of a piece;
In darkness
No seam, flaw,
To tell one's way.

I will plaster some rooms, paper others,
All the same
But one, bare,
I shall retire to
As time goes by
To read the creases, human error, phantom
grain
Frozen on that gray wall;
And in my folly know
This house too was made of wood.

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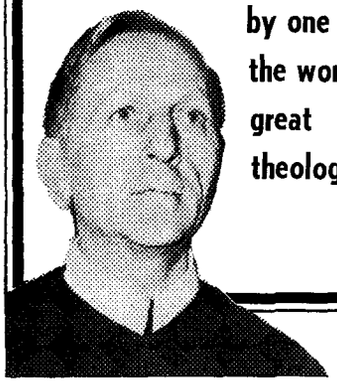

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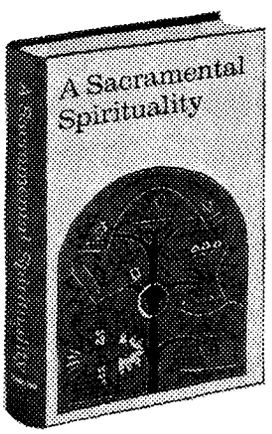

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BOOKS

The Church looks outward

Eyes on the Modern World: Views on Schema 13

EDIT. JOHN G. DEEDY, JR.

Kenedy, $4.95

WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM

Events have conspired to undermine this symposium, which deserved a better fate. The draft schema "The Church and the Modern World" on which the contributors based their essays has been revised; and now the bishops are debating and presumably revising the revision. Meanwhile, practical matters have directly and indirectly been removed from the bishops' hands; first Pope Paul took over birth control and then, by his U.N. speech, rendered any conciliar statement on war and peace anti-climactic. Then, too, a side-effect of the papal visit to the U.N. has been to lessen interest in the Council for the very good reason that, though the bishops may debate and discuss, it is the pope who speaks and governs.

Insofar as this book counsels the Council, it is already outmoded. The contributors seem to agree that the old schema was too long; the new one is longer. Sidney Cornelia Callahan writes nobly in favor of a new position on birth control; the bishops have been told that this is a matter for papal decision. The Council itself has lost vitality.

Yet *Eyes on the Modern World* still merits careful reading. On the negative side, it exhibits one failure of the Church in the modern world, the failure of laymen to exercise sufficient autonomy in regard to the institutional Church. Too often the contributors seem to ask for ratification of what they think, as if the structure of the Church were one-dimensional, as if in the area of Christian humanism the Spirit worked less through the essayists than through the bishops. There is much more on the positive side, however.

In a distinguished essay, "The Church's 'Yes' and 'No' to the Modern World," Richard Horchler envisions the post-Reformation era as one of metamorphosis. He has no illusions that the Council will settle things. He implies a painful evolution whose future is unclear since it demands a Christianity at once immanent and transcendent. Michael Novak sees a break with what he terms "platonic religion" which speaks of "the eternal, the immutable, the static essential, the necessary, the pure." It is being replaced by a religion that is concrete, personal, dynamic, historical.

Donald Quinn traces an increasing recognition within the Church of socialization, especially in the Teilhardian sense of the word. He stresses the need for charity, poverty in the form of selflessness, the exercise of public opinion within the Church, and openness to the signs of the times. The solidarity of mankind has begun to impress the Christian consciousness. John G. Deedy, Jr., presents a model for openness when he discusses Catholic lay organizations. Should, he asks, the Catholic Council on Civil Liberties duplicate for Catholics what the American Civil Liberties Union does for everyone else? His answer quite properly measures the organization against the signs of the times. The same yardstick might be applied, of course, to clerical institutions, from Catholic schools and hospitals through the myriad religious orders.

Sidney Callahan offers an example of the extent to which Catholic energies are directed toward side issues when she concludes that, "Once the birth control crisis is over, enormous amounts of intellectual and emotional energy can be freed to develop new dimensions of understanding of the dignity of marriage and the family." Clerical

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celibacy, preservation of Aristotelian terminology, the Roman Catholic as the "true" Church,—these, too, bottle up Christian energy. James Douglass sees the formation of Christian consciences in regard to war as one worthy object of Catholic energies. Finally, in "A Protestant Surveys a Common Bond," Claud Nelson sympathetically analyzes and criticizes the schema as a whole, viewing it as a call to all Christians on matters more urgent than the Roman style seems to convey.

Both schema 13 and this symposium are hopeful signs. In a way, most hopeful of all is Deedy's inclusion of Adolph Schalk's knowledgeable—and pessimistic—essay on "The Church and the World Family." He emphasizes the question of credibility. Can the diminishing minority of Roman Catholics in the world give credible witness to Christ so long as their Church is more Romanized than universal? Will a de-Romanized liturgy and theology give credible witness so long as they must co-exist with a monarchical hierarchy and a Vatican most visible for its secrecy and wealth? John McKenzie has recently suggested that the third gospel may answer this kind of question. And that, indeed, is a depressing thought.

The Anguish of India

RONALD SEGAL

Stein & Day, $6.50

GEORGE WOODCOCK

Ronald Segal went to India at the time of the Chinese invasion in 1962, and he spent three months there; his publishers commissioned him to go because they felt that, with his knowledge of social conditions in South Africa, he would have some very interesting things to say about another deeply divided society, with an enormous poverty problem. This background of *The Anguish of India* is hardly what the reader would imagine from reading all but a few pages of the book.

Most writers who go to India are so impressed by their own experiences that—unless they produce merely academic monographs—their works take on an intensely personal quality. Arthur Koestler, for example, leaves one in no doubt, on almost every page of the first half of *The Lotus and the Robot*, that he has been to this extraordinary and exasperating country, that he has seen the things he talks of, and has reacted to them passionately. The same applies to V.S. Naipaul, to Dom Moraes, and even to writers who have set out to produce much less subjective works than theirs.

One feels, then, that one knows, within limits, what to expect on picking up a book like *The Anguish of India:* Mr. Segal is a man accustomed to African poverty, and now we shall hear how he reacted to Indian poverty and may learn much from his comparisons. What we do encounter is something very different, a compilation of facts and opinions which Mr. Segal has put together more as a result of his reading about India than from his own experience. He speaks with the same kind of authority as a good graduate student; almost all of *The Anguish of India* could have been written from a distance with the facilities of an up-to-date library. There are times, indeed, when the presence of the library is over-obtrusive, as in the 80-page chapter on "Caste, Religion and History," which will be familiar material to anyone who had read the basic books on India.

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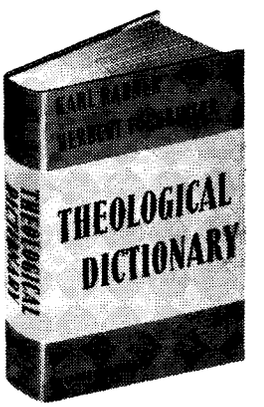

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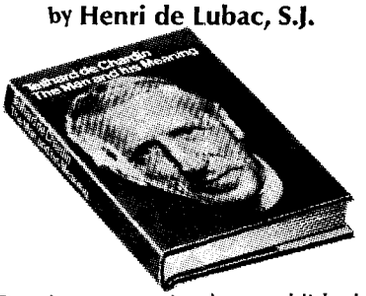
It is only here and there, for an occasional page or two, that Mr. Segal brings in his own experiences, and even then in a curiously unconvincing way, so that they seem both unreal and also irrelevant to the main direction of his book. This, I feel, is because he strains after effect to such an extent that some of his statements seem merely bizarre to those who know India. For example: "That one should walk down a Bombay street in fear of bombardment from other people's noses and throats is in itself merely disconcerting, and costly if one troubles about the state of one's clothes. What must be of far more moment is that those who spit and blow their noses in easy disregard of destination are conscious not of a society to which they belong and whose needs they must respect, but only of themselves." Leaving aside the dubious reflection on the anti-social nature of Indians, I must remark that never, in Bombay or elsewhere, have I been sprayed by Indian spitters or nose-blowers, nor was I ever conscious of being in danger of such "bombardment." There were other occasions on which I felt that Mr. Segal and I had visited different countries with the same name.

One soon begins to realize that even in the great stretches of *The Anguish of India* that are not devoted to describing personal experience, Mr. Segal is busily over-emphasizing, heavily loading the scales of opinion. He is, in fact, stating a case rather than making a report. His main thesis is that India is suffering from in-grown evils which no amount of assistance from outside can cure: that only a drastic and far-reaching change in Indian attitudes will save the country from total collapse in the relatively near future.

This, of course, is a possibility which no objective observer of India can entirely dismiss. At the same time, Mr. Segal is excessively impressed by the negative features of the situation. He paints his pictures all in somber shades. It is true, as he shows, that India has been in the grip of food crises for the past few years, but it is also true that there has not been a major famine since independence. Caste may still be powerful, particularly in the villages, but in the towns, to which more and more people are gravitating, it is beginning to fray rapidly. Women are still by and large a depressed class, but I know villages where in the past decade the custom of purdah has been quietly abolished. Corruption is widespread, but in the peculiar conditions of Indian life one has to admit that it sometimes gives a necessary flexibility to an

TEILHARD de CHARDIN
THE MAN AND HIS MEANING
by Henri de Lubac, S.J.



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over-elaborate bureaucratic machine.

Of course, if one could do away with caste, corruption, and all the rest, that would be admirable, but in the India of reality men have to live with such social phenomena and hope to change them slowly. The alternative, as Mr. Segal suggests with a scarcely veiled admiration for China, may well be a ruthless reorganization of Indian society which could not take place without great bloodshed. It is of course true that India must find its own salvation, but, short of a long totalitarian reign of terror, that salvation must be found within the pluralist structure of Indian society, and it will have to be found at the cost of retaining, perhaps for generations, many customs and attitudes which black-and-white thinkers, like Mr. Segal, find it necessary to condemn out of hand.

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REVIEWERS

FATHER ROBERT E. MC NALLY, S.J., *Visiting Catholic Professor at Brown University, is the author of* The Unreformed Church (Sheed & Ward).

GEORGE WOODCOCK *is the author of* Anarchism, *now available as a Meridian paperback.*

WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM *edited* What Modern Catholics Think About Birth Control (*Mentor-Omega*).

Belief and Unbelief

MICHAEL NOVAK

Macmillan, $4.95

ROBERT E. McNALLY

Even the most casual observer of contemporary affairs is aware that God no longer stands in the center of modern life. Perhaps more than at any time in history atheism as a conviction, a commitment—certainly as a way of life—is moving towards a position of ascendancy. In fact, if its forward thrust is not halted (and this does not seem likely), it will inevitably possess the Western mind. The problem of God, therefore, in all its amplitude (theism, atheism, agnosticism) presents itself to the theologian of our day with special urgency.

In terms of the current problematic, his approach must be existential rather than academic. For God is fundamental to life, and life must be lived. Still one wonders (and with reason) whether traditional theology in its present exhausted state can solve, or at least shed meaningful light, on this religious problem which torments man's soul.

Unique in the Western tradition is the recent appearance of a school of Christian thinkers (Van Buren, Altizer, Hamilton and others) on the side of "the dead God" who by name and nature is non-being in the secular city. It is essentially "away from God" that the thought of these "new theologians" moves; but Michael Novak is not one of them. On the contrary, by intellectual and personal disposition he is too independent to drift with streams of thought, even if they be modern. Obviously he has experienced the bitter

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angst which serious consideration of the problem of God invariably engenders. The fruit of this passionate encounter is *Belief and Unbelief*.

This book is born of intellectual anguish over the problematic of God in the context of the modern mind and its complexity; but it is also born of intense personal suffering, perhaps so intense and personal that it may have colored too darkly the very God Who is the object of belief. "I do not understand God," writes Novak, "nor the way in which He works." This conviction is not surprising; it expresses what is innate to the best aspects of the Christian tradition. But God subsists for him "in as cold and obscure a polar night as any nonbeliever has known." "God," he declares almost as if he believed the opposite were true, "is no 'extra' in my life . . . God is cruel." This way of speaking evinces the influence of harsh, personal encounter with God; it also suggests that the problem of evil in this world is basic to Novak's conception of the God-problem.

The reader will not find in this book a neat, useful summary of convincing answers to the central questions that touch on God, His existence and His nature. Far from it! Novak sees the importance of breaking "the hold over our minds still exercised by the habit of religious rationalism." What we find here, therefore, is not a repetition of all that the past has said about the proofs of God's existence, but rather a carefully reasoned, logically structured and vitally experienced attempt to discover (or re-discover) "the avenue of knowledge" that leads to belief in God; but the God Who is discovered at the end of this search remains the mystery that He is by nature.

"Exactly what God is like further than that He is not part of the object world and that He is at least as conscious as I, I do not know." These words are reminiscent of the Greek Fathers who insisted that man can indeed know *that* God is but can not know *what* He is. The author's treatment is sincere, honest, reasonable and compelling. It is a provocative discussion that will stimulate both believer and unbeliever.

The fundamental thesis of the book is that knowledge of God springs from knowledge of self. Belief is rooted in the desire to understand; more concretely, in inner personal awareness, in intelligent subjectivity and consciousness, which is model for both conceiving and projecting God. The real is intelligible; but apart from an intelligent source, the intelligibility of the real is a mere accident and hence unintelligible.

Novak summarizes his position this way: "The conviction that the real is intelligible, and the mere notion that God is both the source of the intelligible and the source of our intelligent subjectivity, leads us to suppose that the idea of God is true. Reflecting upon this supposition and seeing its point we conclude that there is a God."

Looked at from the point of view of tradition, two schools of thought are at least dimly reflected in Novak's treatment. First, the Augustinian quest of God as a reality which corresponds to the psychological drive inherent in human nature is intimated in expressions such as "man's hunger for God," "restless with inquiry," "man's drive to understand," and the like. Second, the use of "human intentionality" – the working out from man's inner consciousness and awareness of himself to God as a reality beyond man and world – suggests the spirit (not the method, however) of St. Anselm.

Though Novak stands on the side of belief, his mind is not warped by this conviction. The generosity of his feeling for those on the side of unbelief is open, full and sympathetic. It creates that atmosphere of genuine understanding without which the believing world cannot hope to hold dialogue with the dissenters.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 203*)

That the end justifies the means can be a popular doctrine, but this does not mean that it is a good one. It takes maturity to oppose some kinds of the so called "progress."

FRUCTUOSO PIREZ

"The Pope in N. Y."

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: As the one in personal charge of the motorcade in which Pope Paul VI traveled from Idlewild to St. Patrick's Cathedral, permit me to correct certain inaccuracies – of fact and of implication – in the article on "The

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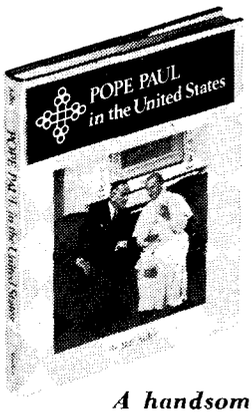

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Pope in New York" contained in the October 22 issue of COMMONWEAL.

"In Harlem," according to the article "the police stepped it up to 40 miles per hour, thus expressing more of what New York's Finest thinks of Harlem than what the Pope cared to express."

The facts are that the motorcade traveled from 79th Street to Third Avenue to 125th Street, across 125th Street, and down to 7th Avenue and 121st Street at a speed of 19 miles per hour. From 121st Street to 110th Street it traveled at 15 miles per hour. This "blurring speed" was made necessary by an unscheduled stop which the Pope's car made on Third Avenue in front of the Foundling Hospital.

I realize that your article was more editorial than reportorial in nature, but I would have expected, from COMMONWEAL, somewhat more accuracy.

My principal concern, however, is with your value judgment as to police attitudes. As the police official responsible for security, I welcomed the Pope's visit to Harlem, and we in the Police Department anticipated, as was the case, that he would be warmly received there.

I find it difficult to come to grips with the stereotyped innuendo in the phrase "expressing more of what New York's Finest thinks of Harlem," beyond saying that the phrase itself is an ill-chosen one, which I would not have expected to find in COMMONWEAL.

VINCENT L. BRODERICK
Police Commissioner,
New York City

Reply

Estimates of the motorcade's speed through Harlem ran from 25 to 40 mph. Three reporters, writing separate articles in the *Herald Tribune*, all set the speed at 30. Jimmy Breslin said the Pope was "traveling at 30 miles an hour because police were afraid of violence in the central part of Harlem." Robert Bird added: "In Harlem, the police evidently were afraid of extremist groups. The speed-up of the motorcade there was obviously a police device."

JOHN LEO

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